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Message Text

SECRET

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41
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W
---------- 106072
O 081700Z FEB 74
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2724

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 1022

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MASS, TU
SUBJ: ELECTRONIC WARFARE

DEPT PASS TO SECDEF AND EUCOM

REF: A. STATE 22999 B. ANKARA 713 C. ANKARA 5425, 6 JUL 73

SUMMARY: NEGOTIATIONS TO RESOLVE EW PROBLEM WITH TURKEY BEGAN ON FEB 7. TURKEY CONTINUES TO INSIST ON FULFILLMENT OF COMMITMENT OUTSIDE MAP. NONETHELESS, SOLUTION BASED ON US PROPOSAL NOT ENTIRELY RULED OUT. END SUMMARY

1. ON FEB 7, EMBOFF (MSA COUNS) CALLED ON YAVUZALP (DIRGEN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, MFA) TO PRESENT EW OFFER. FOLLOWING SCENARIO (REF C), EMBOFF CAREFULLY OUTLINED FY74 MAP SITUATION, STRESSING EARLIER UNCERTAINTIES AND FACT THAT USG WAS GRATIFIED THAT OUTCOME HAD BEEN SO FAVORABLE TO TURKEY. TURKEY'S PERCENTAGE OF FY74 NEW OBLIGATIONAL AUTHORIZATION WAS HIGHER THAN IN EITHER OF TWO PRECEDING FISCAL YEARS.

2. CONTINUING, EMBOFF POINTED OUT THAT FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT WAS EXCLUSIVE VEHICLE WHEREBY US COULD PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE FUNDS TO RECIPIENT COUNTRIES. EMBOFF THEN WORKED WAY INTO EW PACKAGE. IN RECOGNITION OF HISTORY OF EW PROBLEM AND TURKEY'S SERIOUS CONCERNS, AS EXPRESSED, FOR EXAMPLE, BY AMBASSADOR ESENBEL TO SECRETARY SCHLESINGER,USG HAD MADE SUPREME EFFORT TO BE RESPONSIVE TO SITUATION.
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IN MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENT, TEAM HAD COME FROM

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WASHINGTON FOR DISCUSSION OF MATTER. AS RESULT OF THESE EFFORTS,
WE HAD REASON TO HOPE AND EXPECT THAT AMOUNT BETWEEN $7 MILLION
AND $10 MILLION MIGHT BE MADE AVAILABLE. THIS WOULD BE IN FORM
OF MAP, AS ONLY LEGAL RESOURCE AVAILABLE, AND WOULD HAVE TO BE
TAKEN FROM OTHER COUNTRY PROGRAMS. THIS AMOUNT WOULD BE AVAILABLE
FOR FY74 ONLY, WHICH DICTATED RAPID RESOLUTION OF PROBLEM.
BEGINNING IN FY75, EW SHOULD TAKE ITS PLACE WITH OTHER REQUIREMENTS
AS COMPETITIOR FOR REGULAR RESOURCES, NATIONAL , MAP, OR THIRD
COUNTRY.

3. YAVUZALP REACTED FRIGIDLY. AFTER ASKING SEVERAL ROUTINE
QUESTIONS CONCERNING $61.2 MILLION MAP, HE TURNED TO $7-$10 MILLION
EW OFFER. (HE ACCEPTED OUR ASSURANCE THAT THIS WAS ADDITIVE
TO MAP TURKEY WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE RECEIVED.) HE THEN REVIEWED
HIS JULY CONVERSATION WITH DCM,POINTING OUT THAT AT THAT TIME,
EMPHASIS HAD BEEN PLACED BY DCM ON DIFFICULTY FOR US ARISING FROM
OPEN-ENDED, HIGH-COST NATURE OF COMMITMENT.
IN RESPONSE TO THIS PROBLEM,HE CONTINUED, HE HAD PROPOSED AN
APPROACH, RESULT OF WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN TO LIMIT US COMMITMENT
WITHOUT AT SAME TIME ABROGATING 1962 MEMORANDUM OFHANDERSTANDING.
HE REMINDED EMBOFF THAT '62 MOU WAS BINDING, TWO-PARTY AGREEMENT
WHICH PROVIDED BENEFITS FOR US AS WELL AS TURKEY. CONCLUDING THIS
PART OF HIS COMMENTARY, HE OBSERVED THAT US PROPOSAL WAS
UNRESPONSIVE TO HIS JULY SUGGESTIONS AND ASKED WHETHER WE
INTENDED PROVIDE RESPONSE THERETO.

4. WE AGAIN EMPHASIZED THAT USG HAD BEEN DEEPLY CONCERNED
ABOUT TURKEY'S FEELINGS ON EW MATTER, HAD WISHED TO ELIMINATE
BONE OF CONTENTION, , AND HAD MADE SUPREME EFFORT FIND FAIR
RESOLUTION WITHIN US LEGAL POSSIBILITIES.
RESULT WAS CURRENT US PROPOSAL WHICH TOOK ACCOUNT OF PREVIOUS
US-TURKISH CONVERSATIONS ON SUBJECT.

5. YAVUZALP RESPONDED THAT IF THIS WERE CASE, HE COULD DECLINE
OUR PROPOSAL WITHOUT CHECKING FURTHER WITH GOT. HE VIEWED
OUR PROPOSAL AN UNILATERAL ABROGATION OF '62 MOU. IF
CARRIED FORWARD WITHIN GOT, HE FORSAW UNFORTUNATE
CONSEQUENCES FOR US-TURKISH RELATIONS. HE REQUESTED THAT
WE GO BACK TO JULY DISCUSSIONS AND RESPOND TO HIS EARLIER
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SUGGESTIONS. IMPORTANT THING,HE SAID, WAS THAT US HONORED
COMMITMENT TO SUPPLY TURKEY'S EW REQUIREMENTS. HE SAW
NO DISTINCTION IN KIND BETWEEN CURRENT PROPOSAL AND EARLIER
US $2 MILLION OFFER, SINCE AMOUNT OF MONEY WAS NOT THE
QUESTION. QUESTION WAS WHETHER US WOULD OR WOULD NOT FULFILL
COMMITMENT. IN PASSING, YAVUZALP OBSERVED THAT FIGURE PROPOSED
($7-$10 MILLION) WAS TOTALLY INCOMMENSURATE WITH TURKEY'S EW
REQUIREMENT

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E X D I S
6. HE THEN HINTED THAT IF CURRENT AND FORESEEABLE
EW REQUIREMENTS AS FORMULATED
BY TGS COULD BE MET TO TGS SATISFACTION IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO
CLOSE OUT MOU COMMITMENT. IN SUCH CASE, IT WOULD NOT MATTER
WHETHER FUNDS WERE SUPPLIED OVER PERIOD OF TIME OR ALL AT ONCE.
(THIS, OF COURSE, CONFLICTED WITH HIS GENERAL LINE THAT
MAINTENANCE OF OPEN-ENDED COMMITMENT IN PRINCIPLE, RATHER
THAN CASE SETTLEMENT, WAS ESSENTIAL.)

7. WE TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THIS TO TRY TO ELICIT A DOLLAR FIGURE
FROM YAVUZALP, IN EFFORT TO SHIFT DIALOGUE FROM MATTERS
OF PRINCIPLE TO BARGAINING OVER PRICE. WE POINTED OUT
THAT HE HAD US AT DISADVANTAGE SINCE HE KNEW WHAT RESOURCES
WE HOPED MAKE AVAILABLE,WHILE WE DID NOT KNOW TGS EW
PRICE TAG. WE SUGGESTED THAT YAVUZALP RELAY OUR PROPOSAL
TO TGS AND SUGGEST THAT TGS PARE ITS EW REQUIREMENTS DOWN
TO BARE BONES, AND PUT PRICE TAG ON THESE BARE BONES. IF TGS
MINIMUM FIGURE WAS WITHIN SMALL BALL PARK, AND IF MATTER
COULD BE SETTLED CONCLUSIVELY,WE DID NOT ENTIRELY RULE OUT
THAT THERE MIGHT BE ROOM FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS, ALTHOUGH
WE UNAUTHORIZED MAKE SUCH SUGGESTION.

8. YAVUZALP, WHILE DISCLAIMING THAT THERE COULD BE ANY
BARGAINING ON SUBJECT, ASKED IF, IN SUCH CASE, US COULD GO
ABOVE $10 MILLION GIVEN AS TOP OF RANGE OF POSSIBILITIES. WE
REPLIED THAT IF TGS FIGURE TURNED OUT TO BE
$11 OR $12 MILLION, FOR EXAMPLE, WE WOULD BE PREPARED EXPLORE WITH
WASHINGTON POSSIBILITY OF MEETING PRICE. BUT QUANTUN
JUMP IN OUR OFFER WAS OUT OF QUESTION. YAVUZALP ADMITTED
THAT HE KNEW WHAT PRICE TAG TGS PLACED ON EW REQUIREMENTS

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AS NOW FORMULATED, BUT DID NOT GIVE US FIGURE. HE HINTED
THAT FIGURE WAS FAR ABOVE OUR OFFER. NONETHELESS, HE FINALLY
AGREED TO TAKE APPROACH
WE HAD SUGGESTED, I. E., TALK WITH TGS AND TRY TO COME BACK
WITH COUNTER-PROPOSAL BASED ON A PRICE TAG, RATHER THAN
CONTINUING STERILE INSISTENCE THAT US FUND TURKEY'S EW
REQUIREMENTS OUTSIDE MAP. IT WAS THEN AGREED THAT WE WOULD
MEET AGAIN NEXT TUESDAY AFTER HE HAD HAD OPPORTUNITY
TO REFLECT ON MATTER AND TAKE WHATEVER ACTION HE DEEMED
APPROPRIATE.

9. DURING CONVERSATION WE BROUGHT OUT SEVERAL ADDITIONAL POINTS.
WE QUESTIONED NATURE OF US EW COMMITMENT, NOTING THAT
MOU AND '63 PROTOCOL THERETO WERE UNCLEAR ON POINT. FUNDING OF
EW ASSISTANCE OUTSIDE MAP WAS NOT MENTIONED IN '62
MOU, AND THERE WAS REASON TO BELIEVE, BASED ON DOCUMENTS, AND
EVIDENCE, ONLY RECENTLY AVAILABLE TO THAT REFERENCE
TO OUTSIDE-MAP FUNDING IN '63 PROTOCOL HAD BEEN ONE-SHOT
OPERATION RELATING TO GROUND FORCES AND HAD BEEN FULFILLED.
YAVUZALP'S REACTION WAS SHARP. FOR YEARS, HE SAID, NO ONE
HAD QUESTIONED NATURE OF COMMITMENT, AND US HAD IN
FACT ACTED UPON IT. HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND HOW AT THIS LATE
DATE US COULD SUDDENLY QUESTION ITS LEGALITY. IN RESPONSE, WE
POINTED OUT THAT COMMITMENT, WHATEVER IT WAS, HAD LAIN
DORMANT FOR LONG PERIOD, AND THUS THERE HAD BEEN NO OCCASION
INQUIRE INTO ITS STANDING.

10 WE ALSO EMPHASIZED GREAT SYMPATHY OF US FOR TURKEY'S
FEELINGS IN MATTER AND HEROIC EFFORTS MADE IN WASHINGTON
TO RESPOND THERETO. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THIS QUESTION ONT
BE ALLOWED TO IMPAIR US TURKISH RELATIONS, WHICH RESTED ON
MANY OTHER EVEN MORE IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS. IN RESPONSE
TO THIS LINE OF ARGUMENT, YAVUZALP CLUNG TIGHTLY TO ASSERTION THAT
AGREEMENTS HAD TO BE HONORED. HE INTIMATED THAT FOREIGN MINISTRY
WAS KNIGHT IN SHINING ARMOUR, TILTING ON BEHALF OF US AT
ENEMIES IN VARIOUS OTHER TURKISH OFFICIAL QUARTERS. FOR EXAMPLE,
MINISTRY OF POSTS WAS ACTIVELY SEEKING TO CHALLENGE EXISTENCE
OF APO AND TRT (OFFICIAL RADIO AND TV MONOPLY)
WAS QUESTIONING OPERATIONS OF AFRTS IN TURKEY. THESE ACTIVITIES
RESTED ON SKIMPY OR NON-EXISTANT LEGAL BASES, YET MINISTRY SOUGHT
TO STAVE OFF PRESSURES AGAINST THEM. IT WAS THUS DOUBLY IMPORTANT

THAT US NOT REPUDIATE WRITTEN AGREEMENTS.

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11. COMMENT: IF NO SIGN OF PROGRESS OR WILLINGNESS TO BARGAIN MATTER OUT AT REASONABLE PRICE IS EVIDENT AT NEXT MEETING WITH YAVUZALP, AMBASSADOR PLANS RAISE MATTER WITH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, STRESSING FAIRNESS OF OUR OFFER AND NEED FOR TURKISH UNDERSTANDING OF THIS.
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